1: Leitner L-3 (1866-8) 1887 AV3 Dard AV3 Kand: 2

for many years a slave in Chilás, as Ahmad Shah reports). The Gabridis were converted to Muhammadanism by a saint named *Bábá*, whose shrine is in Gabridi, and is one of the most frequented places by pilgrims. The Gabridis say that this saint lived six or seven generations ago. Mir Abdulla (who is really of Afghanistán, but now lives in Gabridi,) says that the Gabridis were converted to Islám about 150 years ago. Lately, this religion has made great progress among the people of Kandia generally. Every little village has a mosque, and in most of the towns there are numerous mosques with schools attached to them, which are generally crowded by students from every class. In Gabridi, the Mullahs or priests are, for the most part, of the Shin caste, but men of every caste are zealous in giving education to their sons. Their education is limited to Muhammadan law (of the Hanifite school), and Arabian logic and philosophy. Very little attention is paid to Arabic or Persian general literature and calligraphy, that great Oriental art so little, indeed, that Hamidullah and Mir Abdulla, who are scholars of very high standard, are wholly ignorant of any of the calligraphic forms, and their handwriting is scarcely better than that of the lowest primary class boys in the schools of the Punjab.

The most accomplished scholar in Kandia is the high priest and chief of Patan, named Hazrat Ali, who is a Shin.

The people generally are peaceful, and have a fair complexion and erect bearing. Their social and moral status has lately been raised very high. Robbery and adultery are almost unknown, and the usual punishment for these crimes is death. Divorce is seldom practised, polygamy is not rare among the rich men (*wazirs*), but is seldom found among the common people.

GOVERNMENT.—Every village or town is governed by a Council of elders, chosen from among every clan or "tolk." The most influential man among these elders for the time being is considered as the chief of the Council. These elders are either Shins or Yashkuns. No Kamin can be elected an elder, though he may become a Mullá, but a Mullá-kamin also cannot be admitted to the Council.

The reigning Council of Gabridi consists of 12 persons, of whom 9 are Shins and 3 Yashkuns. Pasáni Khán is the present chief of the Council. The post of Chief of the Council is not hereditary, but the wisest and the most influential of the elders is elected to that post. Justice is administered by the Mullahs without the interference of the Council, whose operation is limited to inter-tribal feuds.

CUSTOMS AND MANNERS.—Hockey, or something, which is called "khaibák" in Chitrálí, is played on holidays; and the place where they meet for the sport is called "khaibák-khán-ún."

Guns are called "nálí" in Gabridi, and are manufactured in the town by blacksmiths.

Dancing is not practised generally, as in the other Shin countries. Only "Doms" dance and sing, as this is their profession; they play on the "surlí" (pipe), rabáb (harp), and dhopále (drum).

The "purdá" system, or "veiling" women, is prevalent among the gentry, but it is only lately that the system was introduced into this country.

Lr Lettter L-3 (1886-92) 1887 AV3 Dard AV3

mountains with their palaces and songs. Again, it is not Islam that tells them of the regeneration of their country by fairies—that places these lovely beings on the top of the Himalayas and makes them visit, and ally themselves to, mankind. The fairies too are not all good, as the Yazdi are not all bad. They destroy the man who seeks to surprise their secrets, although, perhaps, they condone the offence by making him live for ever after in fairy-land. Indeed, the more we look into the national life of the Dards the less do we find it tinctured by Muhammadan distaste of compromise. Outwardly their customs may conform to that ceremonial, but when they make death an opportunity for jokes and amusement we cannot refuse attention to the circumstance by merely explaining it away on the ground that they are savages. I have noticed the prevalence of caste among them, how proud they are of their Shin descent, how little (with the exception of the more devout Chilisis) they draw upon Scripture for their personal names, how they honour women and how they like the dog, an animal deemed unclean by other Muhammadans. The Dards had no hesitation in eating with me, but I should not be surprised to hear that they did not do so when Mr. Hayward visited them, for the Hindustani Mussulman servants that one takes on tours might have availed themselves of their supposed superior knowledge of the faith to inform the natives that they were making an improper concession to an infidel. A good many Dards, however, have the impression that the English are Mussulmans—a belief that would not deter them from [illegible] robbing a European traveller in some districts, if he had anything "worth taking." Goohar-Amán [called "Gírmán" by the people] of Yasin used to say that as the Koran, the word of God, was sold, there could be no objection to sell an expounder of the word of God, a Mulla, who unfortunately fell into his hands. I did not meet any real Shin who was a Mulla,* but I have no doubt that, especially in

* I have already related that a foreign Mulla had found his way to Gilgit, and that [illegible] despite, doubtless, that no holy a man should not have

St Lecture 1-8 (1880-90) 1897 A93 Dad A93

ready to take a six-mounting yoak and could scarcely be restrained till "lawful" food was brought to them by my servants. Men were forced to go with the troops. One Hakim Ali Hadi, a teacher at Asseriaar, was compelled to serve as a physician, a post to which he had no other claim, except that his name happened to be "Hakim." I rescued him. A cerebro-spinal fever was decimating the troops at Gilgil, who, even after the siege of the fort had been raised, were liable to be shot down by parties from the tribes within a few yards of the fort. I ordered the fort, etc., to be cleared and, although myself in danger of life from my Kashmir friends, if not from the tribes, I insisted on my orders being obeyed, the assumption of an authoritative tone being often a traveller's only chance of safety among Asiatics. I distributed medicine among the troops and was afterwards told in Darfoor by the Mahomedan that some medicine which I had sent to Wadai Zoomeera, who was then on his Darfoor expedition, had saved his life.

Since then, the Darfo have made the acquaintance of diseases to which there was not even a name in 1884. I refer chiefly to cholera and syphilis, which Kashmiri and Indian troops have introduced. Simultaneously, the indigenous methods of treatment, which are full of interest for the imperial learner, are dying out. Industrial habitudes, historical superstitions or reminiscences, national hopes which existed in 1884 exist no longer, and what exists now will soon vanish before the economy of orthodox Mahomedanism and the vulgarity of so-called European civilisation. "*Und der Gitter hoer Gewimmel, Ihr sehnt Euch doch stets Eines gleich.*" The hopes and prophecies of Darfoor are silent, the Tham of Hamra no longer brings down rain, the family ears are broken, the genealogies have been destroyed, and the sacred drum is heard no longer. The quaint computations of age, of months, seasons, years and half-years, and the strange observations of shadows thrown at various times are dying out or are already dead. More than all the enquiry into ancient human history, the language which contains the words of "*wherewithal was*," are being flooded by foreign dialects, and what may survive will no longer appeal to the national understanding. This result is most lamentable as regards Hamra, where the olden human speech still showed elementary processes of development. I fear that my attempt to commit, for the first time, to writing, in an adapted Roman character, the Khojeni language, has only been followed in a three-years of honour which the venerable Chief of Nagge sent me some years ago. Already in some European [illegible] their own ignorance is alone deserving of censure. I simply regret that the credulity of so many Darfo Chiefs for no less made them unsuspicious of Europeans, and may have thus indirectly led to the loss of their independence, but I rejoice that for over twenty-five years I have not attached the European adventurer to Darfoor by saying anything about Pliny's "*fertilissimi omni arvi Zarabi*," except in Khojeni Ethnographical Dialogues in the "Hamra-Nagge Handbook," which explainers were not likely to read. Now others have published the fact, but not the accompanying data.

As Kashmir is learned, Nagge pious, Chibo parliamental, and all true Darfo [illegible] essentially peaceful and eminently egalitarian, so, no doubt, Hamra was the country of her love and of raiding, she had ceased in 1874, which we previously noticed (see Appendix I.). I doubt, however, whether

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military service in time of war. It also gives three hostages for good conduct, who are changed periodically. The people of Gor claim to have been Mussulmans for only three generations, and are all Sunnees.

There are three forts in Gor, named Lamoutkot, Doubtkot, and Tanolkot. The people of Gor have always been friendly with Chilas. At present Gor is noted in the Kohistan for the good quality of the wool it produces. The tradition is still preserved of the god Taiban, who was the tutelary deity of Gor, and whose worship was continued to a very recent date. A rude sculpture of a horse still exists, which is named "Taiban's horse." Even now Taiban is invoked occasionally as a witness of a solemn covenant. Along the river, at intervals the whole way from Gor to Seo, are said to be a number of ancient rock inscriptions.

A few miles above Gor the small detached village of Thalich forms the extreme limit of Yaghestan, consisting only of 11 houses: it forms, as Mr. Drew observes, the smallest of independent communities. The people of Thalich make common cause with those of Chilas, of whom they are an offshoot, and are protected by them against more powerful enemies.

Above Harbund, on the left bank, is the large community of Chilas, which embraces six valleys. The principal villages are Tor, 200 houses; Chilas, 140 houses; Goen, 5 houses; Tekk, 80 houses; and Bonner, 60 houses. Chilas can furnish about 1,500 fighting men, without counting a number of immigrants from other communities who have lately settled in the country. Roads lead from Khaghan in the Hazara country by the Babusar Pass to the Indus in seven days, and from Skardu in the Kishengunga Valley by the Shotú Pass in five days. [illegible] practicable at any time for men on foot, and closed in winter, by which Bonner is reached in four days. The road up the Indus from Chilas is difficult and almost impassable even for men on foot. This difficulty of access has given the Chilasis a spirit of independence, and a distinctive character among all the Kohistan communities. Though but comparatively recent converts to Islam, they are bigoted and fanatical beyond all other Dards, owing, it is said, to Chilas having been at all times a favourite resort of Moollahs from Swat. Being Sunnees, every Shiah who falls into their hands is put to death without being reserved for the usual alternative of slavery. The whole community can muster 3,000 men capable of bearing arms.

[illegible]

4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

natives of other parts. Their constitutions also seem to want stamina, and they succumb easily to disease or change of climate. This want of physical energy and enterprise is most strongly marked in the Shin caste. They consider husbandry the only honourable employment for men, and so averse are they to labour, that the poorest of them employ Baltis in their agriculture, which is of a rude and slovenly kind. Numbers of Baltis come yearly into the Gilgit district to serve for hire; they receive 6 lbs. of grain for a day's labour. D 142 147 D 464

In disposition they are tractable, good-tempered, fond of rejoicing and merry-making, neither cruel nor quarrelsome, and they submit readily to constituted authority. The worst cruelties perpetrated in the wars between Yassin and Cashmere are distinctly attributable to the Ashimadeh class of Yassin and Chitral, who compare unfavourably with the older tribes in this respect. In all the accounts of the Kunjooti depredations on caravans, and of wars in which the people of Hunza and Nagar were concerned, there are no records of wanton cruelty or of the exercise of torture. The women are pleasing-looking when young, but are not particularly handsome. Exception must be made in favour of the Khus of the "*Fakir Mushkin*" class in Chitral, who show certain physical peculiarities not shared by the other Dard tribes. In person they are Indo-Aryans of a high type, not unlike the Shins of the Indus Valley about Kohl, but more handsome, with oval faces and finely-cut features, which would compare favourably with the highest types of beauty in Europe. The most striking feature about them, and one which distinguishes them from all other Dard tribes, is their large and beautiful eyes, which remind one of English gypsies, with whom they share the reputation of being expert thieves. They have also luxuriously fine hair, of which they are very proud. The women of Chitral were formerly sought out for their beauty in the slave markets of Cabul, Peshawur, and Badakhshan. The fairest complexions are to be seen among the Boorish of Hunza and Yassin, where individuals may be found who would pass for Europeans. Among them red hair is not uncommon. B 181 D 181 D 142 B 142

In dress there is little variety. The loose woollen robe described by Mr. Drew is worn also in Sirikol, Wakhan, Zebak, Chitral, Yassin, Hunza, Nagar, and the Yaghestan Valleys. Those who can afford it substitute in summer a cotton robe of the same cut, with quilted edges, worked round the neck D 291 B 291

Lee Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 Afgt Afghanistan AUI
4 Av3 Dard Av3

174 unceasing, their relations with their eastern neighbours admit of friendly intercourse in spite of occasional raids.

181 It is impossible to view the so-called Dards closely without recognising that they are a decadent race. From the south and west the Pathan, from the east the Tartar, and in a 161 less degree the Cashmeri, and from the north the Tajik, are steadily pressing upon and supplanting them. In the Swat, Punjkorah, and Indus Valleys their attitude is one of passive resistance, which always yields when the pressure reaches a certain point. Their want of energy and adaptability, their unwillingness to employ themselves except in agriculture, or to strike out new modes of life, their slow numerical increases, and their want of cohesion among themselves, seem to show that they are doomed to be absorbed by more vigorous races. Men of other races settle among them and grow rich and numerous, while the owners of the soil remain contented with the same poverty that satisfied their forefathers, unmoved by the contrast presented between their own state and the increasing prosperity of those who settle among them. In the Neemchas of the Indus Valley, we may witness the commencement of the process by which all the Dards as a race are destined in time to disappear.

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2: Drew G-8 (1862-1872) 1875 A91 Radcliffe Camera A 93

142 built, well-proportioned men. They are active and enduring. They are good as mountaineers, and those who have been used to act as porters are strong and quick in the work; but in some parts they have never been trained to similar work, and will not undergo it. In face they can in general hardly be called handsome, but still they have a rather good cast of countenance; their hair is usually black, sometimes brown; in complexion they are moderately fair, the shade is sometimes, but not always, light enough for the red to show through it. Their eyes are either brown or hazel. Their voice and manner of speech is somewhat harsh; those who have learned Pushtú have a particularly hard way of speaking that language.

• 181 The photograph given of a group of Dárds[A] (after Frith) is an admirable representation of some men of the race who live in the neighbourhood of Dráz; these fellows are as hardy and enduring as any men I have ever met with; though living in the most trying circumstances of climate, they are not oppressed or weighed down by them, but keep such a cheerfulness as the inhabitants of the most favoured climes and countries may envy.

The disposition and bearing of the Dárds is independent and bold: they will not endure to be put upon, but stand out for their rights, and stand up against oppression as long as possible. They are by no means soft-hearted; but they are not displeasing when taken in the right way. For intellect, it seems to me that they are, as a race, decidedly clever; if not so ingenious as the Kashmírís, yet they are both clear-headed and quick.

Such qualities as these make them a people that one must sympathise with. A people who are bold and, though not caring much for human life, are not bloodthirsty; a people who will meet one on even terms, without sycophancy or fear on the one hand or impertinent self-assertion on the other; such are not so often met with in the East but what one welcomes and values them.

The women, of the districts I went through, I did not consider pretty; those of Gilgit are better than those of Astor, but few of them could be called good-looking. Yásin, a place I could not visit, has a greater reputation for female beauty.

[A Cf. category IIIc, photograph facing p. 462 of Appendix]

[illegible]

[illegible] they sent out a strong force under the command of General Devi Singh, who conquered Gilgit; the "enemy fled away before this force and he occupied the district as far as Yasin". In 1885 a punitive expedition to Hunza failed; taking advantage of this the tribes around Gilgit rose; they invested the fort for some time, but reinforcements arrived and they dispersed. After that, through allegiance to Kashmir, the chiefs of Hunza and of Nagar gave occasional trouble, once even capturing the frontier fort of Chaprote.

Then came the final phase. Under the command of the British Colonel Durand, an expedition was sent out and captured Nilt by assault, then pressed on over the most difficult mountain conditions, glaciers, snow, precipices, against a brave, strong and determined foe. The fanatical determination of this enemy may be judged by the message the defending Mir of Hunza sent to Colonel Durand, "This fortress of Chalt is more precious to us than the ornings of our wives' [illegible]". Yet the British troops under the Colonel, captured the whole country right up to the Pamir and Chinese frontier. This was followed by a handful of troops under Sir George Robertson conquering the Chitral.

The people of Gilgit, Astor and some of the countries beyond are a race with features of the Aryan type, and they claim to be of that stock. The majority of them are medium of height, lively and strongly built. Again the descendants of the chiefs differ from the others, no doubt because of marriage from time to time with the most beautiful women either captured or made wives in order to ensure peace with a neighbour. These men are tall, many are fair-complexioned, with pale hazel or blue eyes, and they are extremely handsome. The features of the men of Gilgit are usually long and oval, the nose strongly curved, the expression sinister if not fierce; generally they are not so fair as the men of the Valley of Kashmir. They usually wear dark woollen clothes, with a cap which has been universally adopted by most troops fighting in cold places, being a long woollen bag which is rolled up until it fits over the head, it being possible to unroll it to cover the ears. Of these men Nizam says, "They are an independent and bold race, more straightforward than the Kashmiris and less bloodthirsty than the Pathan"—the latter

(100) twelve hours, fast tired and wounded, just staggering on for days, with eyes on the ground, perhaps lined on the bags of the men ahead, their heads only lightened by that which they see of it—leaving him for the journey back, the man who fell was hardly noticed by those who were with him unless he happened to be a relation.

(101) Gilgit, together with Astore, Bunji, Chilas, Hunza, and a few other places is often referred to as Dardistan. Gilgit is the most important place, being where the frontier, a British Political Agency was stationed here. The town of Gilgit is the only town of any importance; it has been built on the Gilgit river at a place which is some miles above where that river joins the Indus, and at a height almost the same as Srinagar.

(102) Much of the Gilgit valley is well cultivated, with fruit trees, in the fields wheat and barley are grown; in those which are available to water, fairly good crops of rice, but where cultivation has not been encouraged, the land is barren, though some of the hillsides carry large woods of fir and juniper, and higher still there is birch.

(103) The country is hard, bleak and inhospitable—the men of place are immediately associated with the word "war-poor"; one can imagine the disappointment, if not horror, of a married British officer on learning that he had been posted to that garrison, but it was not so for the single man to whom the great attraction was the shooting and the polo. Like all towns and large villages in the mountains, Gilgit has an excellent polo ground which is still used although the British have gone, for the men of the country excel in horsemanship and polo is their national game.

(104) Just as the valley of Kashmir is the home of the fairy tales, so also are the Gilgit legends famous for those years, fortunately a great number of them have been preserved for all time by historians who have served there. Many of them are fables, others doubtless have a certain amount of truth in them; they contain the history of that part, in them can be seen the character of the men of Gilgit as they have always been, cruel, hard and fearless, and of their womenfolk, lacking nothing in courage and cruelty.

(105) One story or tale will never be lost to the people; there is

being Afghans who have migrated over the frontier—"All are Mohammedans except the tribes of Kafiristan."

These Aryan features, these blue eyes, that light complexion, where does it come from? Not a few of the sons, grandsons and great-grandsons of the chiefs who once ruled in these parts, unhesitatingly claim to be descended from one of the Generals of Alexander the Great, if not from the Emperor himself. There is no record in history of his having visited these parts, but the people of Gilgit maintain that he came as close as the Tashkurgan and the Killik Pass, and then sent an expedition down through Hunza to Gilgit. It is known that Alexander did visit Dir, and it is believed that the expedition to Gilgit was to move on to Chitral and then join the main army at Dir.

I have never seen it hinted at in any book, but I dare to suggest that these Aryan features, blue eyes and the occasional tinge of gold in the hair found among those men of Gilgit—and also those of Kashmir—might have come about by their owners having been descended from the prisoners, deserters, or even soldiers who had become lost from the forces of Alexander. It is known that until not long ago on the North-West Frontier of India, a captured European who was fortunate enough to be the possessor of red hair was treated with more respect than his fellows, who, if not ransomed, suffered slightly, unseemly death. Although not released, he like the others, was handed over to the women, but remained alive to "husband" the widows, so that they might breed red-haired sons. Natural red hair is considered among some of the tribes to be a sign that the owner is the descendant of their particular prophet, if not The Prophet. A beautiful red-haired camp-follower—and most "red-heads" have blue eyes—would make a fitting consolation for any King or Chieftain; a powerful, magnificent, red-headed soldier of the forces of Alexander, a fitting lover for his widow, or even husband—if he happened to be an officer—for a daughter he had been unable to marry off to one of his own rank. Can it be from such alliances as these that the red heads, pale faces and blue eyes have come to these parts?

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CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

The Character of the Peoples

Now of the people. What are they really like? What are their true characters?

Here again we must divide them up, but not so much into States and Provinces, as to separate them as they have been by the mountains.

Those who live beyond the ring of mountains which surround the Valley are the men of Jammu, of Poonch and of Gilgit. They are the fighters, at times in the past they have either been the attackers or have helped those others who have invaded the Valley. From among them came some of the finest troops in the old Indian Army; they have proved themselves to be fearless and trustworthy to those to whom they offered their allegiance; fed, drilled and trained with regularity, they developed a physique of good quality, although the temperament of all three remained different. The man of Jammu will sometimes smile, the man of Gilgit seldom, for with him life has been hard, the land from which he comes yields grudgingly. On the other hand the man from Poonch, who comes from midway between the two, both in the position of his State and the productivity of his lands, in his early years seems to prefer soldiering to working upon the land, to which he returns after he has earned himself a small pension. In all they are generally men that you can always rely upon, providing you are their friend they will stand by you, and come what may will never desert you in time of trouble. More particularly does this refer to the two northern races, never did the expression "taken at face value" better apply. But they can be fanatical, these men, over their love affairs, and will desert and suffer anything to get those they have set their hearts upon, mate, creed and race meaning nothing.

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Ward AVL
Bowes AVL
Washington AVL

them, having got them, if young and attractive they will jealously guard them, if not, they will unceasingly either ignore them or cast them aside after a few years or even months. It seems as though their desire is only to prove their ability to acquire and possess for a while, then interest goes. They are however men true can always trust with life and possessions, they will never rob a friend or master. If they have, or if they discover that their trust has been misplaced, then their hatred can be such that they will kill, that "quality" being increasingly apparent as the land becomes the more known and they are ill advised to annoy those who are our friends. And although over the years each have been subdued by invaders, those who came did not find the task an easy one, for although beaten, the vanquished remained men, holding their heads proudly erect, they do not cringe nor even fawn, they are not "nice".

Of the men of the north-east and the west, the men of Ladakh, they are our fighters, they are those who lead the lives expected of a nation of which about a ninth have given themselves up during "this day of life" to religious alone, whether it be as a working brother or one who spends his days and nights in meditation. But they are honest, you can trust their word, they are steadfast and true to those they make their friends, they will not rob a guest, they are simple people who smile through life and have nothing to fear. From time to time they have had to submit to oppression, but the periods have not been as many or as ghastly as others have known.

There we come to the men of the Valley, those who are usually referred to as "The Kashmiri", and of whom much of this book has been written. What of them?

Before we study this for us turn for a while to some of the factors which have contributed to the characters of the people, those particular factors which were termed calamities. Occasionally one sees reads of a slight earth tremor somewhere in the Himalayas, this has gone on for thousands, millions of years, there is ample proof that severe upheavals have taken place there in the past, and there are known to have been the most devastating earthquakes in the Valley. The first that is recorded took place in the time of the ruler Sudas Sena, whose reign lasted from 1081 to 1040 B.C. "The middle of the city was rib-

In Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1885-95) 1908 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

In Gilgit as in Astor there are few social distinctions, for the people are forced to depend on themselves for most waste of life. The language spoken is Shina, though only a small percentage of the population is Shin. The religion is Islam, the Shiah sect preponderating. There is no entire absence of fanaticism. The national character is mild, and the men are sensible. The Gilgiti is attached to his home and his family, and is an industrious cultivator. Both men and women are strongly built, and of a fairer complexion than the people of India. The women paint their faces with a kind of chin paste to keep the skin soft and to prevent sunburn. They are fond of flowers, and decorate their caps with irises and roses.

The cultivation is of a high character. The fields are carefully tilled, heavily manured, and amply irrigated. In Gilgit itself good rice is grown; and crops of wheat, barley, maize, millet, buckwheat, pulses, rapeseed, and cotton are raised, while fruit is plentiful. There is very little grazing land, and cattle are scarce. Lucerne grass is largely cultivated for fodder.

In the cold dry climate of Astor cultivation is carried on to an elevation of 9,000 feet. It depends entirely on irrigation by little channels known as *kul*. The chief crops are wheat, barley, peas, maize, millet, and buckwheat. The people pay great attention to fodder and cultivate the lucerne grass. Cultivation is precarious in Astor, as the crops frequently do not ripen owing to the cold, and there are several vegetable pests in the shape of worms.

Many of the streams are rich in gold, especially those which flow from Hunza and Nagar, and also the Indus above Chilas. Gold-washing is carried on in the winter chiefly by the poorer members of the population, though the work is often so unremunerative. At Chilas whole families live by the work. The gold is of fair quality, the best being twenty carats. The Nagar valley is celebrated for gold-washing, and contains many signs of mineral wealth.

The only manufacture is the weaving of woollen cloth (*pattū*), but this is for home use and not for sale. Trade does not flourish. The local wants are few, and the only chance of Gilgit becoming an important commercial centre lies in the opening of a trade route to Yārkand. The chief staple of import is salt. Russian chintz is brought down from Yārkand, and is said to be more durable than the English article.

The most important roads are those leading to India. The road over the Burzil and Rāj Dāngan passes has been

4: Dansal G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AVI Kashmir
Da-4 Av 3
Chitral

133 paths thousands of feet above them, and would
725 then find themselves in a trap with the road cut on both sides of them, advance or retreat equally impossible.

Near Barnas there is a defile connected with one of the proudest days in Chitrali history. In Shah Katur's day the Badakshani ruler attacked him, and the invading army penetrated to Barnas. An envoy from the Mehtar met the conquering general in the gorge, threw himself at his feet, made complete submission on his master's part, and, clasping the conqueror's knees, he implored mercy, then with a sudden jerk hurled him off the road to plunge a hundred feet into the roaring torrent below. Both ends of the defile were in a moment in Chitrali hands, and the whole invading force, said to have numbered seven thousand men, was destroyed or taken prisoner.

181 It was impossible not to be taken with the Chitralis. Putting aside their avarice, which was but natural, and their cruelty and treachery amongst themselves, their nobles were pleasant men to meet, fond of sport, courteous and hospitable, and with a great love of their wild country. The people—that is, the freemen, not the slaves—were bright, cheery, impervious to fatigue, splendid mountaineers, fond of laughter and song, devoted to polo and dancing. The man striding along before your horse, with his loins girt, and the front end of his chogu tucked into his waistband to give his legs free play, his chest open, and his shoulders thrown back by a sword carried across his back hooked into his elbows, would sing all the way uphill and down dale, and would

4: Durand G-3 (1888-92) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3
Chitral

gather the wild flowers as he passed them, and stick them into his turban. As a race they are slight and wiry; there were only half a dozen tall men in the country, and I never saw a fat one. This is no doubt partly due to the fact that there is no superabundance of food available, but the result is good. The children were really a joy to see; they had bright rosy cheeks and well-shaped faces; and the small girls, who were not kept within doors, were in many cases extremely pretty.

As we neared Chitral we were met by an increasing number of grandees, of regularly increasing rank. Eight miles from Chitral itself my old friend Raja Bahadur Khan, the Mehtar's half-brother, received me. I never understood how he had acquired a Hindu title, but in the Hindu-Kush they are not very particular. Half a mile further on, after passing through the narrowest part of a gorge along a path a foot wide, pegged on to the rock—one of the few places not even a Chitrali would ride over—a mass of armed men met us. One of them presented me from the Mehtar with a horse most gorgeously caparisoned with gold embossed head-stall, high demi-pique saddle—instrument of torture for an Englishman accustomed to the familiar Whippy—and prettily embroidered and spangled body cloth. Another half mile and the river leaves the gorge, and on the opposite side there is an isolated rocky mound, along the top of which were ranged some two hundred men, who fired a wild *feu de joie* as we passed. A mile or so further we emerged into the plain, and saw the Mehtar sitting surrounded by a brilliant crowd. Dismounting when about one hundred and fifty yards from him, I

4: Durand G-2 (1888-92) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3
Chitral

I remained some time in Chitral, seeing the
Mehtar, formally or informally, every day, and talking to his leading men and advisers whom he sent to see me very frequently. To obtain any influence or information in the East an Englishman must always remember that to an Eastern time is no object, and he must be prepared apparently to waste endless hours in desultory conversation. The time so spent is not really wasted; something can be learnt every day, and confidence is engendered by frequent intercourse. Accessibility is a duty on the part of a frontier officer, and I always made it a point during my time on the border to put aside any work to receive a visitor. Talking to a live man is of more value to yourself, and generally, in the end, of more service to Government, than writing or reading reports. 181

The result of my conversations with the Mehtar and his leading men was to leave in my mind a very poor opinion of the military qualities of the Chitralis. They had an inordinate idea of their power, but they had never been properly shot at. There was no tradition of severe fighting amongst the people. The nature of the country favoured wars of positions, and I found that once a position was turned, and a few men shot, it was a recognised rule of the game that the defenders should bolt. The rule appears to have been strictly adhered to, and I never heard of an action in which more than ten or fifteen men were killed. The people are naturally hopelessly *laissez aller*, and organisation is unknown amongst them. The Adamzadas, I find noted in my diary, might possibly fight, but the common people most probably would only do so in a half-hearted way; as the same 701 721 181

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Dand AV3
Chitral

time, their rapidity in movement, and intimate knowledge of their country, and its capabilities for defence, would make them dangerous enemies to a small invading force, and valuable auxiliaries while on the winning side.

Events proved the justness of the opinion then formed and recorded. A few years later saw Chitral in the throes of civil war, and a Mehtar in possession one day, ousted and flying the next, after the fall of a position attended with the loss of one man. The feeble resistance made to Colonel Kelly's advance by the Chitralis, though holding splendidly defensible positions, the secondary part played by the Chitralis in the memorable siege of Chitral, when all the real fighting was done by Umra Khan's Pathans, and the skill they showed in cutting off small parties of Sikhs, all went to prove that, though not wanting in courage and endurance, they lack the tenacity and grit which is wanted to enable men to face severe loss and to make real soldiers. As Napoleon says, "*Un homme ce n'est pas un soldat.*" The Chitrali is wanting in the something which makes a soldier.

I found that the Mehtar had no conception of our real strength, no standard by which to judge our power. He undervalued our troops, his only idea of a standing army being taken from the old Kashmir regulars, a body with whose name disaster was associated, and some of which he had himself defeated, driven into the fort of Gilgit, and besieged there. His sons and leading men who had been to India had not seen enough of our troops for their reports on them to impress him. One thing I found he was most anxious to have, and that was a properly

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AVI Kashmir
Dard AVJ

181 The latter overlapping warlike in character and in perseverance. They are men of fine enough physique, but they are soft, and have little or no warlike instinct.
[511] Very much attached to their lands, they will not move except under official pressure or the compulsion of the direst poverty. Half a dozen able-bodied men of one family prefer starving on a tiny piece of ancestral land to dividing their forces and taking up ample grants, distant perhaps but a few miles from
[661] their old home. The systematic oppression of their rulers, which deprived a man of much of the fruit of his labours, accounts in part for their attitude on this particular point, but, allowing for this, the race is sadly wanting in initiative. The Yeshkun is, I am inclined to think, a better man than the Shin, there is no doubt about his being a better fighting man, and the small caste or clan of the Rons is the best of all.

[795] Taking the whole of Dardistan the inhabitants are not warlike, and in the southern portion alone, which is under the religious influence of the Mullahs of Swat, do you find fanaticism. The people are peaceful; there is none of the natural devilry, dash, love of war, and enterprise, which you find in the neighbouring Pathan, and they never have stood up, and never would stand up, against severe losses.
726 But that they could fight behind suitable defences I always felt was pretty certain, and we found this at Nilt. Centuries of desultory warfare have made them adepts at the art of field fortification, and awkward customers to deal with when on the defensive. In attack they are contemptible, and only dangerous when overwhelming numbers force disciplined troops on to the defensive, as at Chitral.

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir,
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Even then they would never push an attack home, it is always an affair of a ring of stone breastworks drawn tighter and tighter round the invested body, of incessant fire and perhaps mining, never of a stern open assault such as Pathans would deliver. From the soldier's point of view they are certainly not first-class fighting men. Their rulers alone are blood-thirsty, and that really from the accident of birth and of religion. Even among them, though you might find instances of ruthless severity such as must accompany succession in a Mahomedan state, you but very rarely found the cruelty of the savage who delights in the torture of his victim. It was generally a case of a short sharp shrift. Among the people murders are very rare, and are almost invariably the result of a slip on the part of a lady. By their own laws the resulting punishment, if inflicted under certain circumstances, is perfectly lawful, so that it can scarcely be called murder.

The great difference between the Duel and the Pathan cannot be better illustrated than by the condition of Hunza and Nagar after our fighting there in the year 1891. Within a day of the last fight which decided the short campaign, officers could and did traverse the country unarmed: Conway's mountaineering party wandered all over it six months later without the semblance of an escort, and not one single shot was fired at us after the power of the tribesmen had been broken. They "took their licking," and bore no malice, and within a year, from the very men who had fought against us, I had organised local levies who were ready to fight on our side, who turned out without hesitation

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